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Relatives by Affinity. — A man cannot marry the following relatives by affinity: (1) stepmother; (2) sister of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two sisters); (3) cousin of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two cousins); (4) younger brother's widow; (5) deceased wife's elder sister; (6) nephew's widow; (7) sister of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two sisters); (8) cousin of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two cousins); (9) simultaneously an aunt and her niece; (10) two brothers cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (11) two male cousins cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (12) an uncle and nephew cannot marry two sisters, two cousins, or two women of whom one is an aunt and the other her niece; (13) a step-daughter.

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The aversion to cohabitation between relatives in the first two degrees of blood-relationship — such as the cohabitation with a mother, daughter, or sister, which, with very rare exceptions, we find among the most primitive tribes — hardly requires explanation. As regards the prohibition of marriages among the other above-mentioned relatives, the Koryak replied to my questions on this point, that relatives of the categories mentioned would die soon if they should enter into cohabitation with one another. Unfortunately this answer gives no clew to the above-mentioned taboos. However, certain marital taboos between relatives by affinity are, as we shall see later, closely connected with the peculiarities of the Koryak levirate.

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Krasheninnikoff states that among the Kamchadal "the forbidden kinds of marriage are with one's own mother and daughter only; while marriages between step-son and step-mother, step-father and step-daughter, and between cousins, are permissible."

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Steller says² that if a Kamchadal married a widow who had a daughter, he lived with both as his wives. According to him, the Kamchadal allowed a man to marry his step-mother, or to have two sisters for wives simultaneously. It seems to me hardly credible that the Kamchadal should differ so sharply in their marriage-taboos from the modern Koryak. It is regrettable that what has been said by Steller and Krasheninnikoff cannot now be verified, since the modern Kamchadal, having become Christians and been completely Russianized, observe the rules of the Orthodox Catholic Church in the matter of marriages, as far as their formal side is concerned. However, Krasheninnikoff asserts even, with reference to the Reindeer Koryak, that they used to marry cousins, aunts, and step-mothers.³ It is hard to admit that in the brief period (about a hundred and fifty years) which has elapsed since Krasheninnikoff's time, the marriage-laws of the Koryak should have changed to such an extent.

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It must nevertheless be added, that, if we are to judge from the myths,

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¹ See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169.² See Steller, p. 347.³ See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 221.

582 certain of the marriage-prohibitions among relatives by blood or affinity were unknown in ancient times. Accepting the evolutionary theory in the development of marriage¹ and family relations, we may view the data contained in myths as reflections of the customs which were prevalent in earlier times; i. e., as historical material.

Among the legendary tales of incestuous marriages, we find no episodes of cohabitation with a mother or daughter; i. e., with the first degree of blood-relationship. In one myth² it is related how Illa', wishing to find the sleeping-tent of his former wife, in order to prevent her cohabitation with another husband, first came across his sister's bed, then across that of his mother; and they cried out, "See what he is doing, he comes to his sister and to his mother!"

In the myths we find the episode of the marriage of Eme'mqut and his own sister,³ but the narrative censures such cohabitation. From the course of the narrative it is clear that the incest had not been premeditated. The sister had grown up separately, and Eme'mqut finds her by chance. But, even after having learned that she is his sister, he insists on continuing the union; while his sister Yiñea-ñeut is ashamed of it, and finds a way out of the unnatural marriage by persuading another woman to exchange husbands with her.

On the other hand, marriages among male and female cousins occur quite frequently in the tales.⁴ These marriages meet with no reproaches from anybody. In only one story⁵ does Creator explain his decision to make his children marry the children of his sister by the absence of other people near by. This is, as it were, an excuse for his violation of taboos.

Of other cases of cohabitation between relatives which are now adays forbidden, we find further, in the myths, the marriage of two brothers with two cousins. Thus the two brothers Kalat marry, one a sister of Eme'mqut, the other Kilu's sister; and two brothers from the Bear-People marry, one Yiñea-ñeut; and the other, her cousin Kilu'.⁶

It may therefore be supposed that certain marriage-prohibitions are of later origin than the myths, and that formerly these prohibitions were limited to a smaller group of relations by blood and affinity than they are now. Similar contradictions might result if these traditions had been borrowed and were told without those changes which correspond to the local customs.

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587 Even now, in distant localities, the same prohibitions are not observed throughout. In some localities, cases are met with in which individual persons act contrary to public opinion and custom. Thus, in the village Kamenskoye

¹ In speaking of the evolution of marriage, I do not mean to say that all tribes have passed through the same successive stages in this development.

² See Part I, p. 262.

³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 160, 375.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 150.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 150, 294, 297.

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I was told that the marriage of a nephew with his uncle's wife, or that of a widower with the elder sister of his deceased wife, is countenanced. It is possible that these deviations should be ascribed to the decline in the force of traditions, under the influence of the Russians, or, better still, of the Russianized Koryak of northern Kamchatka. 582 587

In the village Itkana a Koryak (E'igexmit by name) who was married to two cousins was pointed out to me; while among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula, I knew an elderly Koryak (Xot'tto by name) who had married the widow of his deceased younger cousin. The old people told Xot'tto that he should not do it, that it was a sin; but he would not listen to them. These cases, too, may perhaps be ascribed to the weakening of the taboo.

COURTING AND SERVING FOR A BRIDE. — The custom of having the parents or other elder relatives of a young man go to the bride's parents as match-makers for him, was evidently practised in antiquity too. In the myths we meet with this custom.¹ The match-maker is called pañnočetala'n (i. e., "the asking one"), since the essence of match-making consists in the bridegroom's father, mother, or other elder kinsman, asking permission for the bridegroom to serve for the girl. The customary formula of match-making is as follows: On entering the house, the match-maker says, "Here I've come." — "What for?" the girl's father asks. "I am looking for a wife," the match-maker replies. "For whom?" the match-maker is asked. "For so and so," he answers. "Well," says the father, after meditating a while, "we have girls, but they are bad; later on you may yet scold us." — "No, it is all right," the match-maker will say. "Then let him come, I will not harm him," the host will return. 584

It is curious to note the modesty with which the father speaks of the bride, not only without attempting to praise her, but even speaking disparagingly of her qualities. In this is partly expressed the desire of the bride's father to disclaim all responsibility for misunderstandings that may arise in the future between the young couple.

Very often the young people get along without match-makers. This is the case particularly when parents disapprove of a son's choice, and if he does not want to submit to their disapproval. Frequently a young man does not tell anybody of his intentions. He goes to the house in which the girl lives whom he desires to marry, and, without saying a word, remains there, performing all house-work becoming to a man. The house-owner receives the suitor's services with the same silence as he renders them. If the bridegroom pleases him, the bride's father begins to intrust him with commissions. The Reindeer Koryak send the bridegroom to take care of the herd; and, in general, the future father-in-law tries to tire him out, and is over-exacting.

If the bride's parents do not want the bridegroom, they suggest that he

¹ See Part I p. 281.

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591 *The parting of brothers, or the separation of a married son from the*
 422 *paternal family, rarely occurs. This happens, in the first place, among people*
 [589] *very rich in reindeer. The division of too large a herd may become a neces-*
sity for the care of the reindeer. The widow's reindeer pass over to her
brother-in-law with whom she lives; but if she has children, her brother-in-law
manages the reindeer only temporarily. A widow who does not re-marry
remains with her sons, together with her reindeer; but if she has no sons,
she joins her brothers, or manages the herd herself, with the help of herds-
men. The lately widowed sister of the Taigonos elder figured on Plate XXXII,
Fig. 2, has remained single; and, with her two adult daughters, she person-
ally directs a herd of eight hundred reindeer. For this purpose she keeps
two herdsmen, of whom one was in the position of a bridegroom doing
service for her eldest daughter.

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LEVIRATE. — The institutions known under the general term of "levirate" embrace marriage-customs which, though similar but not wholly uniform, are found among various tribes. I retain this name also for the Koryak institution of this category, although it is not quite broad enough in its strict sense. The word "levirate" denotes the custom by virtue of which a brother (or other relative) marries the widow of his elder brother (or relative). Among the Koryak an analogous custom extends also to the widower. The younger sister or relative of the defunct wife must become his wife. Thus the Koryak levirate may be summed up as follows: —

1. The widow must be married to the younger brother, younger cousin or nephew (son of sister or brother), of her deceased husband.
2. The widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece (daughter of sister or brother) of his deceased wife.

I have recorded twelve cases of marriage through levirate. Of these, the widower was married to his deceased wife's sister in one case, to her cousin in two cases, and to her niece in two; the widow married her deceased husband's younger brother in two cases, his younger cousin in four cases, and his nephew in one case.

From the relations of levirate marriage, it becomes clear why two brothers or male cousins, or an uncle and nephew, cannot be married to two sisters, two cousins, or an aunt and her niece. In case of the death of the elder brother, cousin, or uncle, the younger brother, cousin, or nephew would be unable to take the widows of the first three for wives, unless one man might be married to two sisters, cousins, or aunt and niece. As stated before, such a polygynous marriage is not permitted by custom.¹

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The latter custom must be supposed to be of less ancient origin than other marriage taboos, and I think is the foundation for woman's increased modesty. A Koryak who has two or more wives sleeps in one sleeping-tent

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with all of them, and shares his bed, now with one, and then with another. The sense of shame forbids a woman to be present at the acts of the intimate life of her sister. What, then, is the origin of this, which I should call "two-sided Koryak levirate"?

McLennan¹ and his followers consider the custom of levirate among other tribes as a survival of polyandry. Westermarck² demolishes this view with great conclusiveness. But if we admit that McLennan is right, whatever he says applies to the one-sided levirate usually spoken of by the ethnologists and sociologists; i. e., when the younger brother marries the elder brother's widow. But, of course, nobody considers the marriage of a widower with the younger sister of his deceased wife a survival of polyandry.

Lubbock's and Spencer's explanation of levirate is, that woman is viewed as a property which the brother-in-law inherits along with other possessions. Possibly the explanation may apply to the levirate custom of some tribes; but in cases where the widower takes the younger sister of his deceased wife, there can be no question of proprietary title to her; also in the passing of the widow to her deceased husband's younger brother, the family right does not always coincide with the right of property, as it appears from the Koryak order of inheritance. Besides, according to the customs of the Koryak, the elder brother, although he receives part of the inheritance left by his younger brother, cannot marry his widow.

The view that levirate is connected with the cult of ancestors — such as prevailed among the ancient Hindoos and Hebrews, through the necessity of having an heir in the interests of salvation and bliss in heaven — does not apply to the Koryak levirate either, not only because it is two-sided, but also because among the Koryak any widow of the elder brother, and not alone one without any offspring, or without male offspring, passes over to the younger brother.

Nevertheless I do think that Koryak levirate, though from another point of view, is connected with the cult of ancestors, or rather with the cult of the family hearth. I have pointed out before³ that each Koryak family has its guardians and its incantations. The family hearth, the chief family guardian, is averse to admitting strangers. Since primitive man views every stranger as a possible foe, the family guardians are inimically disposed toward every stranger, and are ready to guard the family against the evil eye, word, and other magic acts of strangers. Access to the family hearth is had with difficulty only. Besides, the family hearth is connected with the deceased relatives whose souls return in new-born children. Marriages between two

¹ See I. J. McLennan, *The Levirate and Polyandry* (The Fortnightly Review, London, 1877, Vol. XXI, pp. 694-707).

² See E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, London, 1901, p. 530.

³ See Part I, pp. 46, 50.

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769 families give free access to the hearth, not only to the members of strange
 587 families, but also to the souls of their deceased members. The soul of a
 deceased relative, both on the father's and on the mother's side, may enter
 the new-born child: and each child borne by the daughter-in-law or engendered
 by the son-in-law may become the possessor of the soul of a deceased relative
 of a strange family. Thus a marriage contracted between two families brings
 nearer, not only the living, but also the souls of the dead members, and the
 guardians of both families. The Koryak like to strengthen the union by new
 587 marriages. Thus the brother of a married woman will court her husband's sister,
 182 if there be such. These are favorite unions. We meet such cases, not only
 582 in every-day life, but also in myths.¹ In my opinion, the Koryak levirate
 has for its object the maintenance of the union between two families: a
 widower marries the sister or relative of his deceased wife, and a widow is
 married to the relative of her deceased husband, in order to maintain the
 family union which has been interrupted by death.

621 As marriage, with the exception of the above-mentioned degrees of
 582 kinship, may be contracted between parties of the same village or family
 even, — for instance, any second-cousins, — it happens very rarely that the
 match-maker or bridegroom goes to a remote village or nomad camp in search
 of a bride. Most frequently marriages are contracted between inhabitants of
 neighboring villages. On the Palpal I once met an elderly Koryak from the
 village Mikino driving to the Opuka River, and asked him why he was going
 there. He replied that he was going to get some relative of his deceased
 wife to marry him. "Can't you find a wife for yourself anywhere nearer?"
 I asked. "I can," he replied: "but the union between my family and the
 family of my children's mother must not be interrupted. Besides, the relatives
 of my deceased wife know me and won't make me serve for a bride."

587 As I look at it, the Koryak levirate is an institution having for its object
 182 the continuation of the union between families related by affinity. This union
 is necessary in order that the spirits of the ancestors, the hearth and other
 family guardians, of the two families entering into relationship, may abide in
 peace and unity. In former times, when separate groups of a tribe waged
 war with one another on the slightest occasion, families united by marriage
 formed defensive and offensive alliances. Often the marrying-off of a girl into
 a family with which there had been war, made peace between the spirits of
 the deceased of both families, and put an end to blood-vengeance.

582 In certain cases, an extensive league of families may be formed through
 587 intermarriage. If there are several sons in one family, and several daughters
 in another, these two families cannot confine themselves to intermarrying with
 each other, for brothers of one family cannot marry sisters of another. Some

¹ See Part I, pp. 149, 157, 164, 236, 250, 252, 254, 257, 267, 305, 308.

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must seek brides in different families, and daughters must be married into different families. Only in the case of the death of a married son or of a married daughter of one family or the other is a second marriage, through levirate, possible. 582
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Of course, if the nature of the Koryak levirate has for its purpose the strengthening of family alliances, it may be asked why a widower cannot marry his deceased wife's elder sister, or why a widow cannot become the wife of her deceased husband's elder brother. I have put the question, but to my regret I have received no satisfactory answer from the Koryak. Personally I think that in this case the legal position of the elder brother in the family supersedes the considerations of blood-relationship. When father or mother die or become too old, the eldest brother and eldest sister take their places. By force of this position, sexual intercourse of the eldest brother (who enjoys the right of agnate) with his sister-in-law, or of the eldest sister with her brother-in-law, seems to be imagined to be the same kind of incest as the cohabitation of a father with his daughter-in-law or of a mother with her son-in-law. 587
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I will add here a few details illustrating the application of the levirate in the every-day life of the modern Koryak. From these it appears that in several places this custom is coming to lose vigor and to assume the form of a right instead of involving an obligation. Attention must also be drawn to the subjection of woman in this custom. In Kamenskoye I was told that a younger brother may marry his eldest brother's widow, or a widower the younger sister of his deceased wife, while in other places they must do it. On the other hand, if disinclined, the relatives may not give a widow or deceased wife's younger sister to her brother-in-law in marriage. From this it is evident that in Kamenskoye the custom leaves to either side, if such be desired, the choice of not renewing the family union by a new marriage. 587

But if the nearest relatives of a woman have died, and she has thus lost her natural protectors, the widower or brother-in-law can enforce the observance of the levirate against her will. However, men rarely make use of this right. Shortly before my arrival, an elder in Kamenskoye (Opilli by name) had lost his wife and eldest brother. The wife of the latter, with her children, went to his home to live; but when asked whether he had married her, he answered that as yet she was not ready to do so. I know of another case from the village Kamenskoye, where a Koryak, married to a young woman, received into his house two old widows, the wives of his deceased elder brother, but he did not live with them because they were too old. [736]

I met with a similar case on the Paren River. A Koryak, Ewpičō, who had a young wife, had taken his uncle's widow into his house, but did not live with her, as she was sickly.

In his preliminary report on the Chukchee, Bogoras speaks of the exist- 000

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587 In his preliminary report on the Chukchee, Bogoras speaks of the existence of levirate among them,¹ but a more detailed discussion of their customs may be expected in his description of the social organization of the Chukchee in this series. From certain passages in Steller's book on the Kamchadal,² the conclusion may be drawn that among them a levirate similar to that of the Koryak existed: i. e., that it was two-sided.³ It is a matter of great regret that he does not dwell in detail on this institution. An interesting feature of the marriage customs of the Kamchadal is mentioned by both Steller and Krasheninnikoff.⁴ It is evidently connected with the levirate, and is quite similar to the Jewish rite of khaliche, which is a substitute for actual marriage with a relative's widow. According to these travellers, nobody would marry a widow before an outsider had had sexual intercourse with her, which was called "removing the sin from her." By that intercourse a woman was evidently freed from the union with her deceased husband's family: and her new husband could take her to his own family hearth without incurring vengeance on the part of her first husband's spirit. This explanation is favored by another passage in Steller, in which he states that a man may take his deceased brother's widow *without* any ceremonies.⁵ The person who would undertake to "remove sin" from a woman was paid for this service; and prior to the coming of the Cossacks, it was difficult to find among the Kamchadal men who would volunteer for this undertaking, which, according to their belief, was fraught with danger.

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POLYGYNY. — In some myths the heroes have two wives, and in two of them they have three: but the majority of marriages recorded in the myths are monogamous. The Supreme Deity and Big-Raven have each but one wife. In contemporary Koryak life as well, we find that monogamous marriages prevail, although custom places no limits on the number of wives.

Among the Maritime Koryak, I questioned 95 married men. Of these, 15 (i. e., 13.6%) had two wives each, and not a single one had more than two. Among the Reindeer Koryak I recorded the family conditions of 65 married men: and of them, but 3 had two wives each, and 1 had three wives: i. e., the percentage of men having more than one wife was but 6%, or but half as much as among the Maritime Koryak. Some of the men with two wives had taken a second wife because the first one was barren: others had married a second time because their first wife, who was obtained

¹ See Bogoras, *Brief Report*, p. 33.² See Steller, pp. 346, 347.

³ Customs similar to what I call "two-sided levirate" are known also among other tribes. Some of them are enumerated by Kohler (*Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 144), who regards this custom as a survival of former "group-marriages." The same custom is also met with among North American tribes. For instance, of the Ojibwa, W. Jones says (*Central Algonquin Annual Archaeological Report*, Toronto, 1906, p. 136): "It was usual for a man to marry the widow of his brother, and a widower might marry the sister of his dead wife." The same is stated by Teit with reference to the Thompson Indians (see Teit, p. 325), and by Dorsey to the Skidi Pawnee (Congrès International de Américanistes, XV^e Session, Québec, 1907, Vol II, p. 73). No explanation, however, is given by the last three authors as to the origin of this custom.

⁴ See Steller, p. 346; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 178.⁵ See Steller, p. 347.

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through levirate, was too old. In some cases the second wife, who was obtained through levirate, is the younger of the two. Only in two cases did I find that both wives had children, and in neither of these cases were levirate customs involved. On the other hand, in three cases of men having two wives, neither wife had children. Their barrenness, accordingly, must be attributed to the husband. The only man with three wives whom I saw was the elder of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak.¹ He had children by his first wife; but she became ill, evidently with hereditary syphilis, and her face is so deformed that she covers it up whenever an outsider enters the tent. His second wife is barren; and from the youngest, the third wife, he has offspring. In one case, a young man who married an old woman, his uncle's widow, through levirate, took into his house a little girl, and began to live with her after she had grown older. She seemed about sixteen years old when I saw her, and she was pregnant at the time. Such marriages with minors were more common in former times. Generally speaking girls marry when twenty years old, or even older.

It is interesting to note that the greater number of monogamous marriages among the Reindeer Koryak coincides with the greater number of men as compared with women among them.

The statistics of the official census for 1897 have been discussed before (p. 445). I myself made a detailed census of the Maritime Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to the three Itkana villages, inclusive, and of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula and along the Tilqai River. According to my count, there were 102 women to every 100 men among the Maritime Koryak, and but 89 women to every 100 men among the Reindeer Koryak. The ratio of women to men which I obtained among the Maritime Koryak was identical with the one I found in the official census of all the Maritime Koryak. But the percentage of women among the Reindeer Koryak which I obtained was even below the census of 1897, which gives 90.8 females for each 100 males. This may possibly be explained by the fact that I took the census after an epidemic of measles which had carried off more women than men, and left many widowers.

Judging from both myths and actual observation, it seems that the prevailing form of marriage among the Koryak is monogamic, and that polygyny kept up by the custom of levirate and the desire of having an offspring when the first wife is barren. However, in certain traditions which I heard, relating to a past by no means remote, stories are told of strong men, who were good warriors and skilful hunters, and who had harems of women taken by force from their fellow-tribesmen. A cavern on the rocky coast of Peshina Bay was pointed out to me as the dwelling-place of such

¹ According to Dittmar, when he visited the Taigonos Peninsula, the elder had four wives (Dittmar, Die Koräken, p. 25).

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Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutorsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutorsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonies, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

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The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relative's present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

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According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks

KORYAK RY4
KAMCHADAL RY3
CHUKCHEE RY2

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582 The Chukchee marriage norms probably were the same
171 as among the other nationalities of the same linguistic
835 group as the Chukchee, namely, the Kamchadal and the
K Koryak. Concerning the Kamchadal, we have the testimony
582 of Krashenninnikov in Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /A Descrip-
835 tion of Kamchatka/ (II, 169) that marriages were concluded,
unhindered, between male and female cousins. As to the

KK Koryak, their norms were evidently /243/ under the strong
582 influence of the Tungus peoples. Thus, while marriage to
835 a niece was regarded as incestuous among the Chukchee, it
[835] was permitted among the Koryak. As among the Tungus,
marriage simultaneously to two sisters is not allowed among
them. But the basic feature of Turanian marriage -- the ob-
ligation of marriage within one and the same clan -- has been
perpetuated in the Koryak marriage in the institution of the
sororate, or, as it is called by Iokhel'son, the double levirate.

KK As is well-known, the peculiarity of this institution, wide-
171 spread even on the continent of North America (Algonkin,
614 Thompson, Skidi, Pawnee), is expressed in the obligation of
177 the widower to marry a woman from the clan of his deceased
wife -- namely, a younger sister, cousin, or niece of the
deceased (the last category -- nieces -- has evidently been
adopted from the Tungus). Iokhel'son explains the origin of
this institution by the desire to maintain religious ties that
have been established between the spouses and by an un-
willingness to admit an alien element to the sacred family
hearth. Such an explanation could be very easily admitted,
but then it is not understandable how the first, dead wife was
admitted to the sacred hearth, especially since the Koryak
have no knowledge of any kind of religious rituals like the
above-mentioned Chukchee ritual of administering the
sacrament to the wife. On the other hand, this is explained
much more simply by the institution of obligatory marriage.
With the obligatory cousin-marriage, sisters and female
cousins of one family belonged to the brothers and male
cousins of another, and naturally, when the wife of a man

KORYAK RY4
CHUKCHEE RY2
ALEUT NAG

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- 587 died, he took her younger sister or cousin. The institution
835 was not only juridical, but religious, for the spouses were bound by the ties of common blood. Iokhel'son does not say whom the Koryak generally marry. Judging by the example of the Chukchee, among whom marriages are concluded predominantly between cousins, we may state with conviction that a Koryak also generally marries his cousin (i.e., a person of common blood, which is why the wedding ceremony has no ritualism), and therefore, after her death, he follows the same ancient law and takes her sister or cousin.

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835 We shall now proceed to the Aleut, whom Morgan considered the intermediate link between the Asiatic and the American peoples. We do not have reliable information about their marriage norms, but what little we know is of great interest to us from the standpoint of the question we are studying, especially since those facts were related by an observer who spent a great many years among them, namely, by Veniaminov. First of all, it seems that the customary form of marriage among the Aleut was cousin marriage. /244/ Veniaminov does not relate the details, but definitely says that the most favored selection for a bride was the daughter of an uncle (1). Of even greater interest is the description

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1. Tvoreniiia Innokentiiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book III, p. 322.

of polyandry among the Aleut. "A woman," writes Veniaminov, "was allowed to have two husbands, of whom one was the chief one, and the second his assistant, or, as he is called by the Russians, his partner. Such a woman was not only not considered degenerate, but was even praised as efficient. The second husband, fully enjoying the rights of a husband, had to produce and, in general, strive for the support of his wife and family, just like the first husband (2). Erman (3) relates the same, but he does

2. Ibid., 323.